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THE
BATH PHYSICIANS
OF FORMER TIMES.

A PAPER
READ BEFORE THE BATH LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL
ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 20TH, 1882.

BY
JEROM MURCH,
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

BATH :
WILLIAM LEWIS & SON, "THE HERALD" OFFICE.
And all the Booksellers.

MDCCCLXXXII

ONE SHILLING.



With kind regards

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THE BATH PHYSICIANS

OF FORMER TIMES.

IN every country where medical science has been known it has been honoured. From time immemorial its professors have been amongst the greatest benefactors of mankind. Large towns and rural districts alike testify to the good they have done and continue to do. Without claiming extraordinary admiration for those of our own city in former times, I think I can show that many were men of considerable learning and ability. They were closely identified with the life of the place, its society, interests and character, and therefore form a fit subject for one of our papers.

In some respects it may be a disadvantage that I do not belong to the medical profession. But if, on the one hand, more justice might have been done to scientific history, perhaps, on the other, a broader view may be taken of social influences. In both cases the sources of information would be the same ; chiefly old books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of which I have been fortunate in finding in the Chapman Library of the Institution. Amongst the volumes of recent date to which I am indebted I wish to mention gratefully at once Dr. Munk's "Roll of British Physicians," an extremely valuable work containing a rich mine of biographical knowledge.

Going back to the earliest periods of local history, I find nothing that bears on our subject. We have Roman remains of various kinds in the building in which we are now met, but how little do they tell us about Roman men. Even those votive altars, so grand in their simplicity, are commemorative only of the military class, worthy of lasting

remembrance undoubtedly, but not the sole benefactors of the time. We should have been thankful to know what had been done for other sciences in which the "mother of nations" excelled, especially for the science of healing, one of the most ancient and practically useful. Is it not true that, as Homer says—

A wise physician, skilled our wounds to heal,
Is more than armies to the public weal ? *

Failing to find signs of this wisdom during the time of the Roman occupation, we should have liked to catch glimpses, however faint, of the men who immediately followed, powerless as they were to check the growing anarchy of the fifth and sixth centuries. It is true that Gildas Badonicus, a name indicating connection with Bath, wrote in his monastery at Bangor of the wars and sufferings of the latter part of the time, and Bede and Alcuin laid the foundation of ecclesiastical history. But except a few faint traces of hospitals for the sick cared for by monks, and of a society of religious women who ministered to the poor at the baths, we have no hints as to medical treatment in the scanty annals of the time.†

* Dr. Spender partly accounts for the absence of information on this subject. After stating that the Romans relied upon their baths for "recreation, cleanliness, and health," and that "imperial pride was in no instance so conspicuous as in those grand structures," he adds :—"For six hundred years Rome hardly knew any other medical aid than that of baths and a few empirical nostrums. By the rational use of baths the ancients prevented and cured diseases ; baths were *munera Divûm*, the theme of poets and historians, and the sacred care of the Republic."—"The Bath Thermal Waters," by Dr. Spender.

† "Among the good deeds of the warlike Offa," one of the Saxon kings who loved Bath and dwelt here, "may be enumerated the repairs of the baths, and the establishment of a *Xenoclochium* or hospital for the reception of discharged strangers who journeyed to Bath for the waters."—Dr. Spender, page 18.

In 1138 the Bishop of Bath and Wells built another hospital for the use of the leprous poor, dedicated to S. Lawrence, and in 1180 his successor a third, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which still exists. Bellott's Hospital was founded in the reign of James I. ; the General or Mineral Water Hospital 1738.—*Warner's History of Bath.*

It is not until the eleventh century that light begins to dawn upon us. For many years the Bath monastery had been flourishing under the patronage of the Kings of Wessex and Mercia. It was in full vigour at the time of the coronation of King Eadgar in 973, when Elphege, its great reformer, reigned as its abbot, adding to the attractions of the springs those of his saintly character. As in the earliest times every Egyptian physician was a priest, so in those of which I am speaking every eminent ecclesiastic was skilled in healing power. We have an instance in the first doctor of any note in these parts, John de Villula, one of the many able and aspiring men who came to England in the train of William the Conqueror. The two-fold fame of Bath as the City of the wonderful springs and the seat of a wealthy monastery led him to separate himself from the Norman warriors and countries and try his fortunes here. His success was great; he first acquired wealth by the practice of medicine, and then employed it in consolidating power as an ecclesiastic. How he rebuilt the Abbey; how he attached it to the Bishopric of Wells which he then held, and how, through his influence as well as to his advantage, the two sees were united, need not be dwelt upon at present.

Much of my information for this paper is gained from a curious old book entitled "A Collection of Treatises Relating to the City and Waters of Bath." The second edition, from which I shall quote, was printed in 1725, its author being styled in the title page "The learned Dr. Thomas Guidott, late Physician at the Bath." He introduces John de Villula in connection with the Abbey Church, of which he says: "No other account need be given than that by Sir John Harington, whose good-will to the church and city did rival the acuteness of his wit and learning" The account is in "A Latin poem in the 'Nugæ Antiquæ,' writ and spoken to Bishop Montague at his first visitation and sight of the church then uncovered," the manuscript having been found in Sir John's study at Kelston after his death, and com-

municated by his grandson.* This Latin poem which gives a history of the building Dr. Guidott translates. Not the least amusing part of it refers to what was done by John de Villula and yet to his small repute as a physician. Thus runs the doggerel in allusion to his gifts to the Church being larger than other gifts, and to his ignorance of the art by which his wealth was acquired :—

“With greater cost John clept de Villa.
A Frenchman born, but silly fellow,
Profest the art, if story’s true,
The grounds of which he never knew.”

Against Sir John Harington’s opinion may be placed that of an older historian, William of Malmesbury, who wrote the life of John de Villula. It is true he speaks of him as “*Medicus probatus usu non literis*,” but he also speaks of him as a patron of literature, possessed of great medical skill, and outrunning all the physicians of his time in honour and profit. He is further said to have presided with dignity over the diocese thirty-four years, and at his death in 1122 to have been buried in the Abbey Church, where his tomb remained in the time of Leland ^{four} ~~six~~ hundred years afterwards, though then fast falling to decay, the building having been unroofed and the weeds allowed to grow unchecked.

I quote here from Mr. Hunter’s admirable paper on the “Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England.” He mentions several eminent men as part of the

* I need not remind Bath readers of the handsome monument of Bishop Montague in the Bath Abbey, lately restored at much cost and with great judgment by the Town Clerk of Bath, Mr. John Stone. In old records the name is spelt Mountague. The Latin inscription in the “History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury and the Abbey Church at Bath” gives the name Jacobus Montacutus. He was Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1608, was afterwards translated to Winchester and died in 1618. He was also one of the Lords of the Privy Council and Prelate of the Order of the Garter. The “History and Antiquities” published in 1722 contains a list of the donations to the rebuilding of the Abbey, and the copies of the inscriptions on the monuments up to that time.

brilliant company gathered together by John de Villula, especially Adelard, an Oriental scholar and Hugelinus, called in Domesday Book *Interpres*, a man of many languages. After them came William of Bath, a divine, Henry of Bath, a lawyer, and Reginald of Bath, a physician, all connected with the monastery, and all adding to their ordinary avocations the advancement of literary and scientific culture. We can imagine the interest they took in an institution of more than local importance—the Abbey Library—for it was so remarkable as to excite the admiration of Leland, who knew all the great libraries of the kingdom ; and we may infer that medical science was not neglected from the fact that in addition to books given by King Athelstan, such as the Roman classics and translations from the Arabic, special mention is made of the writings of the more eminent physicians.*

There are other reasons for regarding the Bath monastery as both the home and the school of Bath physicians of the middle ages. Mr. Hunter mentions that a certain Prior Robert in a chapter held in 1328 granted to one “Magistrò Johanno de Bathonia, *Medico*,” a suitable chamber with free ingress and egress for life. He was to have daily a gallon of convent beer, two white loaves from the convent bakehouse, and other allowances from the convent kitchen as well on flesh days as on fish days, according to the exigency of each: He was also to be provided every year with a robe such as the clerks wore, and in return for these privileges he bound himself to exercise due care and diligence in every thing belonging to his profession required by the Prior and the

* In a former paper on William Prynne I drew attention to an old library of later date—the seventeenth century—now in the Bath Abbey Church, as containing some of the works of the great constitutional historian and others of considerable value. Why is it not better known? A list of the original donors is given in the “History and Antiquities of Salisbury Cathedral and the Bath Abbey.”

Monks, the medicine to be provided at the expense of the house. A similar arrangement was made with a sculptor, who, in consideration of bread and meat and beer and lodging and a robe "*de secta Armigerorum*," undertook to perform the carved work of the convent rather than that of any other employment.*

Thus far our chief concern has been to see where the medical profession obtained their principal training and their authority to practise. We now come to the time when "a great religious wave had passed over the land, and the original seats of learning, piety and benevolence had been broken up." Henceforth we have to observe a succession of men who were educated at the National Universities, and who carried on their work in Bath under different auspices.

One of the books to which I am indebted is by Dr. William Turner, a thin black letter folio of great rarity and interest. Printed in Germany in 1562, it is the earliest book on the subject, and is entitled "*A Booke of the Natures and Properties as well of the Bathes in England as of other Bathes in Germany and Italy*," and though the author only styles himself Doctor of Physic he was really also Dean of Wells. The Church preferment was probably obtained for him through the influence of the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector and uncle of Edward VI. Turner was some years abroad in the service of the Duke, to whose son, the Earl of Hereford, he dedicates his book.

"Hearing after my return to England," he says, "that their was a natural bathe within your father's Dukedome, I ceased not till I got license to go to se the same bathe, which done, I carried certain diseased persons with me, with whom I taried as long as I could. And afterwards, being Dean of Wells, which place is not far from Bathe, and having liberty to tary there so long as I list, I tried the same bathes a little further and found by experience that they were a verye excellent tresure, unworthily esteemed by such as have plenty of other

* Hunter's Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England.

treasure, but which is not worthy to be compared with this precious gift of God.”*

There is another curious old book of the sixteenth century by Dr. John Jones, a worthy Welshman, “The Bathes of Bathes Ayde wonderful and most excellent agaynst very many Sicknesses.” The date is 1572, just twenty years after Dr. Turner’s, like which it is in good clear black letter. The author obtained celebrity by practising at stated times in some of the chief cities in England, coming to Bath for what was even then in Queen Elizabeth’s reign, “the season.” That he practised in various places would tend to make the waters known, while still further publicity would be given to them by his book, connecting their application with the general principles of medical and surgical science. Among the amusing contents is a genealogical table prefaced by the statement that, according to the chronology of Scripture, Bladud discovered the springs “about the year 3080 of the age of the world and 890 before the incarnation of Christ, Elisha being then prophet in Israel.” Here follow 29 circles, representing 29 generations between Elisha and Adam and Eve; all which I mention merely to give an idea of the British medical literature of the sixteenth century.

At the end of the book is “A Prayer made by the Author of this ayde,” so run the *ipsissima verba* “to be saide by all persons diseased,

* So this curious book begins. It ends with the following admonition to all who visit the baths:—

“As ye go homewards make but small journeys and beware
of surfetinge and colde and when ye are at home use
mesurable exercise daylye and honest myrthe
and pastyme wyth honest companye.
And beware of surfeting in anye
wyse and of anger and of
to much studye or
carefulnes.
Finis
Thankes be to God for all his giftes
Amen.”

Dr. Turner also published in 1613 “The Rare Treasure of the English Baths. The Chapman Library also contains a beautiful MS. volume by Dr. Turner in the finest preservation, at the end of 300 years.

meekly bending upon their knees before they enter the Bathes." And that there might be no question of the good man's loyalty the prayer ends with—

"God save the Queenes majestie and encrease the
fayth of thy Flocke, preserve the Councill
and all the Nobilitie, Spirituall
and Temporall."*

Dr. Guidott's book, of which I have spoken, contains memoirs of eighteen Bath physicians. The period includes seventy years of the time when the springs began to regain their ancient Roman fame—from 1598 to 1668. The author was himself a man of considerable attainments in medicine, philosophy and natural history, a vehement opponent of quackery in all its forms.† Of the eighteen I need only mention a few of the most distinguished, by whom, whatever may have been their proportions of public spirit and personal ambition, the old reputation of the city was undoubtedly revived. From that time the medical standard became

* In order to make known the true nature of the baths and to secure good advice to patients needing them in various parts of the country, Dr. Jones recommends that ecclesiastical preferment should be given in the principal towns to medical men for the express purpose. "A meete stipend appointed of some improprial benefice or parsonage or prebend at Salisbury, Worcester, Herforde, Gloucester, Bristowe, Excester, Wels, Landathe, &c., the furthest of not past a dayes journey as well for the pore as the ryche."

† Born in 1638, Dr. Guidott was fourth in descent from Signor Antonio Guidotti, a native of Florence, who came to England in the reign of Edward VI., by whom he was knighted. In 1656 the descendant became a Commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, where he studied anatomy and medicine and began to practise. Ten years afterwards he settled at Bath, encouraged by the friendship of Dr. John Maplet, one of the number whose lives he wrote. Though his ability brought him considerable practice, his temper and his crusade against quackery created many enemies. In a preface to Dr. Jorden's "Discourse of Natural Bathes," he says, "Empiricks and juggling Medicasters do so much abound that 'tis almost as hard a matter now to meet with a regular and accomplished physitian as it was in former times for Diogenes to meet an honest man." That he himself was competent appears in his various writings and may be inferred from this—that for some years he practised in London as well as in Bath, in London the greater part of the year and in Bath the summer months; also that he was offered professional chairs at Venice and Leyden but declined both.

higher; the professions of priest and physician were no longer often combined; men were educated for each distinctly, although the early training at the universities was often in both cases the same.

One of the foremost in the list was Dr. Edward Jorden. He was a man of good family, took his degree at Padua, practised some time in London, and afterwards settled in Bath. Another was Sir Edward Greaves, Baronet, of All Souls' College, Oxford, Physician in Ordinary to the King. Taking the lead among his brethren, not more by his rank than his character, he acquired a large fortune and lived to a good old age. In wealth however he was surpassed by Dr. Samuel Baue, a native of Cologne, famed for his knowledge of languages. This gentleman is said to have been also famed for his costume, liking to show himself in purple velvet and the finest linen much bedecked with lace. Of higher mark was Dr. John Maplet, whose position, acquirements and character were all remarkable. Educated at Christchurch, first Proctor of his University, and then Principal of a College, his antecedents favoured his success. At Oxford he accepted invitations to travel on the Continent with two Lord Falklands, first with the elder brother for two years, and then on his death with the younger. Returning to England, he practised at Bristol in the summer and at Bath in the winter, with intervals in his professional labours for elegant authorship, notably Latin epistles to distinguished friends. The medical literature of the time owed something to Dr. Venner. A huge monument in the Abbey sets forth how learned and charitable he was, and that he wrote a book called *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*. If he followed his own rules as to diet and regimen he was a good example of their efficacy, for he lived to the age of eighty-five. The monument attracted the notice of Pepys, who came for the waters in 1668, and made a characteristic entry in his "Diary."

* Pepys' Visit to Bath, June 14th, 1668. Diary Ed., 1877, Vol. v.

Of most of the eighteen Guidott writes favourably, praising them in particular as gentlemen of culture and good standing. Not in his list, though contemporaries, were Dr. Mayow and Dr. Peirce, but they were probably rivals and on some professional questions antagonists. Mayow, who published his opinion of the Bath Waters, differed from his brethren in controverting the theory that nitre and sulphur were components, and gave some sound chemical reasons for his view. Peirce was a considerable author and ranked high in his profession. He was a Commoner of Lincoln's Inn, Oxford, and was created M.D. by his university. In longevity he excelled Venner, living to be nearly a hundred years of age. Where and why he disagreed with Guidott it is difficult to ascertain, but there are passages in the writings of both which show that the green-eyed monster had much to do with it. Both published lists of cases they had treated, which closely resemble those now treated from year to year in our Mineral Water Hospital. In Peirce's experience there is also this similarity : he lodged a large number of patients in his own house, attending constantly to their various

“(Sunday.) Up and walked up and down the town. Saw a pretty good market place and many good streets and very fair stone houses. And so to the great church and saw Bishop Montagu's tomb, and, when placed, did there see many brave people come, and, among others, two men brought in in litters and set down in the chancel, but I did not know one face. Here a good organ ; but a vain pragmatical fellow preached a ridiculous affected sermon that made me angry and some gentlemen who sat next me and sang well. So home, walking round the walls of the city, which are good and the battlements all whole. After dinner comes Mr. Butt again to see me, and he and I to church, where the same idle fellow preached, and I slept most of the sermon. To this church again to see it and look over the monuments, where, among others, Dr. Venner and Pilling, and a lady of Sir W. Waller's ; he lying with his face broken ”

Montague, mentioned page 6, was uncle to the Earl of Sandwich a family connection of Pepys' ; Pilling was Rector of Bath, thirty years ; Lady Waller was daughter of Sir Richard Reynell, wife of the Parliamentary General

The “good market place, many good streets, and very fair stone houses” showed that Bath was no longer the wretched-looking place described by Macaulay on the authority of Wood. The enlargements and improvements begun in the previous century enabled the physicians to find suitable abodes.

maladies. It was the old Abbey House ; in size and situation nothing could be more convenient ; just between the church and the bath, the church was reached by crossing a small garden and the bath from a gallery overlooking it ; facilities much valued by the poor cripples, some of high rank and living far away, who came to be cured.* The Abbey House, we are informed by Mr. Peach, was rebuilt on the site of the original monastic dwelling erected by John de Villula, occupied in 1653 by Dr. Peirce, and pulled down for improvements in 1755.†

One of the traditions of this period relates to the feeling between London and Bath doctors. Not only was no love lost but all possible hindrances were thrown by the higher powers in the way of patients requiring the waters. Probably those gentlemen saw with some concern the rapid transfer of work to their provincial brethren. Dr. Spender states that twenty physicians practised here in the season, besides more than thirty apothecaries and not a few "chirurgeons."‡ He quotes Dr. Baylis: "What a number of physicians ! How exorbitant their fees and how infinite their prescriptions ! Can all this be necessary ? Can the health and welfare of the public require such multitudes ?" Looking at the then small population, even including visitors, we are not surprised at these questions. Nor again can we believe in the necessity of so many books on the Bath Waters, except to advance the interests of the authors. Some, however, were undoubtedly of permanent value : able, thoughtful treatises, taking up new points or throwing increased light on old ones. Dr.

* Bath Memoirs, or Observations in Three and Forty Years' Practice at the Bath. By Robert Peirce, M.D., 1697. Munk's Roll of British Physicians.

† Historic Houses in Bath. By R. E. Peach, 1882.

‡ Bath Thermal Waters, p 150. This refers to the middle of the eighteenth century. In connection with an earlier period (1713) Dr. Spender gives an amusing quotation from "*The Guardian*" to the same effect, only that the author being probably known as a gentleman of the Press was most generously treated. "The physicians here," he says, "are very numerous, but very good natured. To these charitable gentlemen I owe that I was cured in a week's time of more distempers than I ever had in my life."

Sutherland may have been too speculative in his chemical theories, but both at Bath and Bristol Hotwells he attained considerable eminence. His "Attempt to Revive Antient Medical Doctrines," published in 1763, may even now be read with interest. Dedicated to the Earl of Northumberland, who filled various high offices in the State, it aimed to show that the development of sanitary advantages, like those at Bath, was a national duty, which ought to be undertaken by the government. The author contended that if to make ample provision for bathing were a matter of imperial concern at Rome, if the Emperors not only raised magnificent structures in the Capital, but ordered them to be provided in all the chief provinces, even in Britain, the work should not be neglected now. "Were simple, artificial baths objects worthy of a *Trajan*, why should not natural hot medicated springs be thought worthy of *George*?" "Why should imperial Britain be denied what imperial Rome once bestowed on two of her legions only."*

The various physicians shared such advantages as the time afforded. They occupied the few good houses, clustered as they were around the baths, and having openings directly communicating with them. In truth these doctors of the seventeenth century were kings of the place, looked up to as general authorities. The only other principal inhabitants were a few of comparative little influence, who willingly gave the lead to those by whom the great source of prosperity was developed † As houses sprung up in all directions, as the

* Sutherlands Attempt to Revive Antient Medical Doctrines, 1763.

† But how powerless they were in the most important matters is shown in various records. At the time of the dissolution of the monastery the baths were under the management of a man whose chief profits arose from the use of them by the gymnasts and athletes of the adjacent tennis-court. In 1632 all order and propriety were so abandoned that Dr. Jorden complained to Francis, Lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the baths could not do the good for which God had sent them to us for want of good government. "The Queen of Charles I. went to Bourbon in France instead of Bath, for it was a common report that all kinds of disorders had grown to the highest pitch here."—Jorden's "*Discourse of Naturall Bathes*," 1632.

supply of the comforts and necessities of life improved, and as the climate and scenery became better known, the permanent residents increased and the government of the place improved. Then the doctors were succeeded in their reign by new potentates, or rather the sovereignty was divided, for though society required a Nash and civic affairs a mixed corporation, though the best houses were also wanted henceforth for magnates of a different kind, and other professions grew in numbers and influence, yet the medical profession retained a social and intellectual power not less beneficial for being quietly used.

But let it not be thought that even when there was so much to praise there were no inferior practitioners. One of Dr. Guidott's eighteen was a Mr. Seneschall, whose quackery was in the line of alchemy, and who gained notoriety by wearing a fur coat in summer. It may be well perhaps here to say a few words on what has been a fruitful subject of satire—the costume of medical men in succeeding generations. Not that I would suggest for a moment that costume always signified quackery; everyone knows that for a long time, in towns of any note, physicians worthy of the highest respect dressed for professional visits in great form. Our fathers and grandfathers remembered them equipped with a bag wig, a cocked hat, silk stockings, lace frills and ruffles, a gold-headed cane, shoes with gold or silver buckles, a long straight coat, an immense waistcoat and very small breeches. I have mentioned Dr. Baue's fondness for purple velvet and fine linen, in which he imitated the London fashion, silk being also worn by the doctors there, but in Bath the usual attire was less costly; it was generally limited to the broad-cloth produced by the local looms, though the cut was always professional, and the other appendages of wig, hat, cane, &c., never omitted. Hear, however, what Stowe tells us in his "Survey of London," how a certain Dr. Langton in the sixteenth century was accustomed to drive through Cheapside on a market day in a car, "his outer attire being a gown of

damask lined with velvet, covering a coat of velvet, his head gear a velvet cap with a blue hood pinned over it." Another writer states that some doctors carried absurdity so far as to wear a large muff in cold weather that they might have hands warm enough and delicate enough to discriminate to a nicety the qualities of their patients' pulsations.* Carriages,

* Concerning muffs there is an anecdote in the life of Sir W. Browne, President of the Royal College of Physicians, 1755-56. Foote in his "Devil on Two Sticks" had resented something which Browne had written by representing the Esculapian Knight on the stage, with the precise counterpart of his wig and coat and odd figure and glass stiffly applied to his eye. Sir William sent Foote a card complimenting him upon having so happily represented him, *but as he had forgotten the muff he had sent him his own.*—*Munk's Roll, vol. ii., p. 98.*

Whilst at Bath, Browne paid a visit to Bishop Warburton at Prior Park, described in a letter to Bishop Hurd. "The other day word was brought me from below that one Sir William Browne sent up his name and would be glad to kiss my hand. I judged it to be the famous physician whom I had never seen nor had the honour to know. When I came down into the drawing room I was accosted by a little well-fed gentleman with a large muff in one hand, a small Horace open in the other, and a glass dangling in a black ribbon at his button." The Bishop then relates how Browne began by propounding a doubt as to a passage in Horace, and before he could receive an answer "repeated his own paraphrase of it in English verse, just come hot he said from the brain." Assuming that the design of all this was to be admired, Warburton adds: "Indeed he had my admiration to the full, but for nothing so much as for being able at past eighty to perform this expedition on foot, in no good weather, and with all the alacrity of a boy both in body and mind."—*Roll, vol. ii., p. 102.*

I have mentioned the gold-headed cane as part of the professional equipment. Perhaps this custom may be traced back to the time when the Athenian laws required that every man should be seen in the street with his staff. In some countries doctors when visiting plague and fever cases carried fumigating walking-sticks with pepper-castor heads containing essences of oils and herbs to prevent infection. The library of the Royal College of Physicians contains the celebrated gold-headed cane which had been successively carried by Dr. Radcliffe (the founder of the Radcliffe Museum at Oxford), Dr. Mead, Dr. Askew, Dr. Pitcairn, and Dr. Baillie, having been deposited there by the widow of Dr. Baillie. It is a Malacca cane, with a heavy gold crutch handle bearing the arms of each of these physicians, of whom Dr. William Macmichael, of Christ Church, a Radcliffe Travelling Fellow from 1811 to 1821, wrote biographical notices anonymously in a work called "The Gold-headed Cane," and on whom the following epitaph was written:—

"Here, ripe in years, in wisdom mellow,
Reposeth one most learned 'Fellow,'

of course, were largely used, sometimes from necessity, roads being bad and patients numerous, often as advertisements, the more ambitious physicians driving about London with four horses or even six. The usual dress is thus described :—

“ Each son of Sol, to make him look more big,
 Had on a large, grave, decent, three-tailed wig ;
 His clothes full trimmed, with button-holes behind,
 Stiff were the skirts, with buckram stoutly lined ;
 The purple velvet, or more reverend black,
 Full made and powdered half-way down his back ;
 Large, decent cuffs, which near the ground did reach,
 With half-a-dozen buttons fixed on each ;
 Grave were their faces, fixed in solemn state,
 These men struck awe ; their children carried weight.
 In reverent wigs old heads young shoulders bore,
 And twenty-five or thirty seemed fourscore.”*

Dr. Guidott's list of the Bath Physicians brought us down to the close of the seventeenth century. Much had been done in the sixteenth to raise the profession above the level it had long occupied. The greatest benefactor in this respect was Dr. Linacre who grieved sorely at the abundance of incompetent practitioners, and the absence of all legal restraint. Himself a man of high character and rare attainments, taught by Vitelli at Oxford and by Politian and Demetrius at Florence,

Who drew an intellectual feast
 From musty tomes in Pall-Mall East ;
 Then wrote a book to prove his knowledge
 And praise the Fellows of the College.

* Jeaffreson's "Book about Doctors." These lines bring to mind Peter Pindar's description of Dr. Johnson's dress :—

“ Methinks I view his full, plain suit of brown,
 The large grey bushy wig that graced his crown ;
 Black worsted stockings, little silver buckles,
 And shirt that had no ruffles for his knuckles.
 I mark the brown great coat of cloth he wore,
 That two huge Patagonian pockets bore,
 Which Patagonians (wondrous to unfold !
 Would fairly both his Dictionaries hold.”

Physician successively to Lorenzo de Medici, Henry VII. and Henry VIII., the friend of Tonstal, Latimer, Melancthon, Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Warham, who more likely to command attention to a great scheme of reform? For some time Linacre was connected, if not with Bath, certainly with Somersetshire. Ten years prior to his appearance as a medical reformer, though he had passed the meridian of life, he became a priest. Leaving London when at the highest point of professional success, he was first made rector of a small parish in Kent, and then prebendary of Easton-in-Gordano at Wells. While filling other ecclesiastical offices in future years he devised the remedy for the evils of his former profession by originating the Royal College of Physicians, in which he had the powerful aid of the King and his minister, Wolsey. Framed on the lines of similar institutions in Italy, with the working of which Linacre was familiar, the charter amongst various salutary provisions required that candidates intending to practise should be examined by the President and three of the Elects, who should have power to grant letters testimonial to those who were duly qualified, unless they should be graduates at Oxford or Cambridge which would answer the same purpose.*

* Munk's Roll.—The biographies of the period contain many proofs of the intellectual influence of Linacre. Lately a new edition has been published of "The Boke named the Governour," a very remarkable work on education, which passed through eight editions between 1530 and 1580. The author was Sir Thomas Elyot, "Knight, Diplomatist and Scholar," born about 1490, probably in Wiltshire, who amongst his multifarious studies, found time for medical science. In a review of his principal work in the *Times*, of October 18th, 1881, I find the following passage: "Young Elyot was educated at no University, but he received a training better than Oxford or Cambridge could give him from his father (the Attorney-General to the Queen and Judge ⁱⁿ the Common Pleas), and from the group of learned men who clustered round Sir Thomas More, notably from Linacre, the Head of the College of Physicians and one of the chief representatives of the new learning in England. It was from the influence of Linacre, we cannot doubt, that Elyot first gained that knowledge of medicine which appears in one of his books: 'The Castle of Healthe,' embodying as it does a study of the works of Hippocrates, Galenus, Oribasius,

To the requirements of the new College of Physicians we undoubtedly owe the higher character of the profession in the seventeenth century. Looking at the circumstances of our city, we may ask, what, without the rules Linacre introduced and the nobler spirit he encouraged, would have been the state of things in the eighteenth? A place which had suddenly become the chief seat of health, pleasure and frivolity, the resort of all kinds of people from all parts of the kingdom, especially those who had money to spend, could not fail to attract ignorant empirics. Even with the restrictions of the Royal College, what fruitful subjects for satire were found by Anstey, Smollett and Fielding; what tempting material for every literary wit in the tricks of rival doctors played off on country squires and their families! In Anstey's Bath Guide we find Mr. Simpkin addressing his mother:—

“ And so as I grew every day worse and worse
The doctor advised me to send for a nurse,
And the nurse was so willing my health to restore,
She begged me to send for a few doctors more;
For when any difficult work's to be done
Many heads can dispatch it much better than one.”

Hear the subject of consultation when the wise men meet at the patient's house:—

“ So they all meet together and thus began talking,
Good doctor, I'm yours—'tis a fine day for walking.
Sad news in the papers God knows who's to blame,
The colonies seem to be all in a flame.
This stamp-act no doubt might be good for the Crown,
But I fear 'tis a pill that will never go down.
What can Portugal mean? Is she going to stir up
Convulsions and heats in the bowels of Europe?”

Passing over the plaintive entreaty of the poor sufferer that *his* case should be considered, we come to what Jenny did:—

Paulus, Celsus, Trallianus, Celsus, and Plinius. This list is worthy of Chaucer's ‘Doctour of Physick,’ but it only represents one side of Elyot's reading.”

" So thus they brushed off each his cane at his nose
 When Jenny came in who had heard all their prose
 I'll teach them says she at their next consultation
 To come and take fees for the good of the nation.
 I could not conceive what the devil she meant,
 But she seized all the stuff that the doctors had sent,
 And out of the window she flung it down souse
 As the first politician went out of the house.
 Decoctions and syrups around him all flew,
 The pills, bolus, julep and apozem too.
 His wig had the luck a cathartic to meet,
 And squash went the gallipot under his feet."

As if in order that the weak points of those Bath doctors should never be forgotten, Cruikshank gave a life-like picture of all this in Britten's edition of Anstey. But more deserving of castigation were many men in other places, men like Graham, the earth-doctor, who mingled temporal and spiritual nostrums, and published catch-penny books about the baths ; and the more notorious Hill, commonly called Sir John Hill. Between the latter, whose title was due to some Swedish order he had managed to get, and a pretender in another line, called Orator Henley, an amusing parallel is drawn in the elder D'Israeli's work entitled "Quarrels of Authors."* Rejected by all the learned societies in succession because of his wretched temper and doubtful attainments, Hill attacked them all with equal asperity. While in fighting his way as successively actor, author, quack-doctor and herbalist, he drew upon himself a shower of epigrams which furnished endless subjects of conversation. Garrick said of his two-fold character of playwright and physician :—

" For physic and farces his equal there scarce is,
 His farce is a physic, his physic a farce is."

Some other wit invoked for him this fate :—

" The worst that we wish thee for all thy vile crimes
 Is to take thine own physic and read thine own rhymes."

* Anstey's Bath Guide. Britten's Preface.

A third, however, was not satisfied that such should be the punishment, and added :—

“ No, let the order be reversed,
Or else unlash'd his crimes !
For if he takes his physic first
He'll never read his rhymes.” *

After this glance at the weaknesses of the eighteenth century, let us look at the strong points. Happily there were men in Bath, as elsewhere, who were worthy of honour, for this reason, if for no other—that even those times did not spoil them. That empty pretenders should flourish where foolish and wealthy idlers abounded was not strange, but we have ample proof that the requirements of better spirits were also met. Great as the repute of the springs became, they would not have drawn together so many men of mark, nobles and statesmen, authors, artists, divines and philosophers unless thoroughly competent physicians, educated, accomplished gentlemen, had also been found here.

Of this class were the two Olivers who followed, one dying in 1716, the other in 1764. Both were Fellows of the Royal Society, and both men of good standing in the profession. I have been unable to learn whether they were related ; the second at all events was a member of the family who have long owned the Manor of Weston, near Bath.† His predecessor while studying at a Dutch University joined the expedition of the Prince of Orange. Coming to England with the Prince's Army he became physician to the Fleet, but soon afterwards settled in Bath. Amongst various books he published here was “ An Account of an Extraordinary Sleeper at Timsbury, with an Essay on the Powers of the Soul and its several operations.” The second Dr. Oliver,

* Timbs's “ Doctors and Patients ”

† Britten gives short memoirs of the Olivers in his History of Bath Abbey, but throws doubtful light on the question of relationship, stating in one place that the second was probably the son of the first and in another that the first died unmarried.

also an author, and the inventor of the speciality known as Oliver's biscuits, had a large practice in the middle of the last century. He was one of the first physicians to the Mineral Water Hospital, which owed much to him in various ways. The picture in the Board Room of patients appearing before him and the apothecary conveys the idea of a sensible, benevolent man, perhaps a little stately and pompous. That one at least of his patients admired him is evident from some amusing lines in the fourth edition of Mary Chandler's poems, published in 1738; he had attended her in a dangerous illness.

"Pure goodness winged your feet, inspired your tongue;
Soft were your accents, but your reasoning strong.
Heaven bade me live and you prescrib'd the way;
To you, next Heaven, my grateful thanks I pay.
And now I breathe and live and sing anew,
And owe my breath and life and song to you."*

* Mrs Mary Chandler was the daughter of the Rev. Henry Chandler and the sister of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler, both Nonconformist divines in Bath, pastors of the congregation now assembling in Trim Street. The latter left his mark on the century as one of the ablest defenders of revelation. His sister was a milliner, much respected for her business qualifications as well as her intellectual ability. In the preface to her poem, not ashamed of her calling, she says she preferred the reputation of an honest trader to that of an author. No one would expect verses so feeble to run through four editions in the present day, even though the chief subject were a member of the Royal family, but the standard of merit was different then and the Princess Amelia was "a bright particular star." Of the springs Mrs. Chandler is naturally very eulogistic. After describing the complaints for which patients came to be cured, she says:

"Our waters wash those numerous ills away,
And grant the trembling wretch a longer day.
If but one Leper cured makes Jordan's stream
In sacred writ a venerable theme;
What honours to thy sovereign waters due
When sick by thousands do their health renew."

The second Dr. Oliver was buried in Weston Church, where, and in the adjoining cemetery, I find records of the following interments of Bath medical men:—

George Cheyne, M.D.	...	died 1743, aged 72
John Clarke Scott, M.D.	...	" 1805, " 62
William Falconer, M.D.	...	" 1824, " 80

I have mentioned two medical books by Bath men in the sixteenth century, two by Dr. Turner and one by Dr. Jones. In a list of a local collector I find the titles of twelve in the seventeenth and twenty-eight in the eighteenth. It would be tedious to give even the titles of all of them; a few I have already mentioned in noticing their authors, and others I have yet to speak of. They are chiefly on the Bath waters, and show the steadily increasing interest of three hundred years. Some of the authors were men of larger experience, and left their mark on the medical literature of the country accordingly.* Amongst these was Dr. Cheyne, a native of Scotland and a contemporary of the Olivers, who, in addition to able treatises on the usual subject, published a number of theological and philosophical works. The spirit in which he wrote may be inferred from a passage in his "Essay on Health and Life," referring to the unseemly language of certain controversialists:—"I heartily condemn and detest

Edward Percival, M.D.	...	died 1831, aged 68
Thomas Falconer, Clerk and M.D.	,,	1839, ,, 68
George Kitson, Surgeon ...	...	,, 1859, ,, 78

Though Dr. Oliver was honoured with a monument in Bath Abbey, his friends also placed a tablet to his memory, with a long eulogistic inscription, in the church at Weston. *The Church Rambler*, vol. I., 1876.

* The list of Mr. Frederick Shum, the friend, who kindly lent it to me for this paper, includes probably the greater part of the books on the Bath waters, though not all. I have met with a few others, but the proportions in the three centuries appear to be nearly the same.

In the discussion that followed this paper Dr. Spender added to the information in his comprehensive volume some remarks on the medical literature of the springs, dividing it into three epochs. 1.—The "empirical period" from the earliest bibliography to shortly after the middle of the 17th century; Jones, Turner and Venner are the chief writers. 2.—Guidott was the link between the first period and the second. Pierce and Oliver were the prophets of the second, characterized by the exclusion of mere speculation, and reliance on "judicious observations" and patient enquiry. 3.—The third period owes its importance to the establishment of the Mineral Water Hospital, and the impulse which this institution gave to the medical study of the Waters. Summers and Charleton were the principal physicians of the new school. Dr. Sutherland was too much led astray by mere chemical theories.

all malicious and unmannerly terms, and all false and unjust misrepresentations, as unbecoming gentlemen, scholars and Christians." The *Biographia Britannica* says of him :—
 " He is to be ranked amongst those physicians who have accounted for the operations of medicine and the morbid alterations which take place in the human body upon mechanical principles. A spirit of piety and benevolence, and an ardent zeal for the interests of virtue, are predominant throughout his writings." Dr. Cheyne was born in 1671, and died in 1743.*

The next name is better known in Bath. I have mentioned Sir John Harington in connection with John de Villula and the Abbey Church. Of the "witty and learned knight" the godson of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Henry Harington, was a direct descendant. Born at Kelston in 1727 and originally intended for the church he finished his education at Oxford but preferred the medical profession. To much knowledge of it he added other attainments, classical, musical, mechanical and mathematical, rarely found in the same person. In connection with two friends whom I knew fifty years ago—the Rev. John Bowen and the Rev. Thomas Broadhurst—he founded in 1795 the Bath Harmonic Society with the remnant of the Catch Club. He published many elegant musical compositions, excelling his contemporaries both in glees and anthems, though his fame rested chiefly on his "Eloi," or "The last words of our Saviour," which was sung for many years on Good Friday in the Abbey and other churches in Bath.† The versatility of his mind on various subjects is shown in works as different from each other as the "Ode to Discord" and the "Ode to Harmony," the "Witch of Wokey," a ballad in the old English style, and the "Geometrical Analogy of the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity." True as well as graceful are the lines on his monument in the Abbey :—

* Alibone's Dictionary of English Literature.

† Britten's History of Bath Abbey Church.

Medicus solus et fidelis :

Poëta lepidus :

Musicus sciens et peritus :

Magistratus gravis, justus, acer :

Of his wit we have a proof in the well-known epigram :

“These walls adorned with monument and bust

Shew how Bath waters serve to lay the dust.”

Dying as late as 1816 he was remembered by many whom I have known for his genial manners, his agreeable conversation, his rich store of anecdote and unfailing benevolence. Mr. Monkland describes him amongst a knot of good talkers at Bull's Library, in his accustomed chair with his full-bottomed wig and three-cornered hat, full of animation, though then quite blind, and approaching his ninetieth year.* He died at his house in Northumberland Buildings.†

* The Literature and Literati of Bath.

† Now the offices of Mr. T. W. Gibbs.

That there is much to make the name of Harington remembered here is still known amongst us, though the feeling may not be so strong as it was when in 1779 the Rev. Canon Harington of Norwich, brother of the Bath physician, published the “new, corrected and enlarged edition” of the *Nugæ Antiquæ*. Here we find the Latin Poem I have mentioned as quoted by Guidott, and addressed to Bishop Montague on the roofless state of the Abbey Church, together with a mass of curious information respecting contemporary prelates and ecclesiastical matters. Another descendant of Queen Elizabeth's godson, the late Rev. Chancellor Harington of Exeter, while bequeathing handsome sums to various good public objects was mindful of the ancient seat of his family in giving liberally to the poor of Kelston.

In the Chapman Library, at the Institution, is a book by Sir Edward Harington, son of Dr. Harington, of Bath, which gives a good idea of the author, especially of his humour: “A Schizzo (scketch) on the Genius of Man, in which the merit of Mr. Thomas Barker, the celebrated young painter of Bath, is considered” Here and in the “*Nugæ Antiquæ*” are scattered fragments of Harington family history, which would well repay the labour of arrangement and consolidation. We learn that the family, dating back to the reign of Edward I., assumed their name from Haverington in Cumberland, “which Lordship they possessed though their chief seat was at Aldingham in Lancashire.” In the reign of Edward III., John Haryngton, who aided William D'Eincourt in the defence of the Scottish marches, was summoned by Parliament among the Barons of the realm, and in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. another descendant became Knight of the Garter. Some time before the barony expired (temp: Henry IV.) the seat of the family was at Chewton in Somerset-

Following chronological order, I come to the first Dr. Falconer. In connection with him, if our time had allowed, would have been his son and grandson. I do not know another instance in our annals of three generations succeeding each other in the medical profession. Much might be said of the ancestors of the Falconers, distinguished as they were in Scottish history and in science and literature. Our library contains a work on the county of Monmouth, where a branch of the family settled, showing that its genealogical head was Sir Alexander Falconer, a Lord of Session in 1639, and that amongst subsequent family connections were Hume the historian, Drummond of Hawthornden the poet, and Pennant the antiquary and naturalist.

The first Dr. Falconer was son of the Recorder of Chester, where he was born in 1744. He settled at Bath in 1770, was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1773, became physician to the Mineral Water Hospital in 1784, and died at his house in the Circus, No. 29, in 1824. Probably no member of the profession in our city has equalled him in learning or authorship, if we may judge from a list of forty-seven books written by him. Many are on medical subjects, some on classical and theological, some on botany and natural history, the latter including papers contributed to two societies in which he took great interest—the Bath and West of England Agricultural and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical. His books on the Bath waters were long in high repute. To an “Essay on the Influence of the

shire. To Sir James Haryngton Edward IV. granted lands for his services in taking Henry VI. prisoner, but these were forfeited again to Henry VII., at the battle of Bosworth. Once more the tide of fortune turned under Henry VIII., whom the father of the Sir John Harington of Kelston, who is quoted in these pages, served in various ways, and who rewarded his adherent not only by giving him his natural daughter in marriage but by adding a list of rich manors, which had belonged to the Bath monastery, including those of Kelston and St. Catherine. Thus it was that Queen Elizabeth came to be the god-mother of Sir John Harington of Kelston, and to honour him and the city of Bath with a visit. Sir Edward Harington writes of having the blood of Henry VIII. in his veins.

Passions on the Disorders of the Body," the third edition of which was published in 1796, was adjudged the first Fothergillian Gold Medal. To another on "The Diseases of the Hip Joint, and on the use of the Bath Waters as a Remedy," published in 1805, the Medical Society of London adjudged its silver medal. The list containing these particulars is appended by his grandson, the late Mr. Thomas Falconer, County-court Judge, to the third edition of a book of great research and ability—"A Dissertation on St Paul's Voyage from Cæsarea to Puteoli." Referring to "Observations relating to Natural History selected from the principal writers of antiquity," Dr. Parr says:—"I have lately been instrumental in procuring from the Cambridge Press the publication of a work on botanical subjects by my friend Dr. Falconer whose knowledge is various and profound, and whose discrimination on all topics of literature are ready, vigorous, and comprehensive." The high opinion entertained of him by his brethren in the Metropolis, as well as his general reputation, led to his being consulted by a large number of distinguished people who came to Bath, amongst them the younger Pitt, whom he attended here in his last illness, in 1805. And with reference to his position in local society, which was about that time in its most brilliant phase, marked by rare refinement and intelligence, Mrs. Piozzi relates that when any doubt existed amongst the *literati*, either on a point of scholarship or an historical fact, the common remark was "We must go to Falconer." *

* A few lines with reference to Judge Falconer whose list of his grandfather's works I have quoted. On retiring from the office which he filled in South Wales so long and honourably, Mr. Thomas Falconer returned to Bath to spend the remainder of his life. Amongst those who have been connected with our city he ought to be held in grateful remembrance for his deep interest from youth to age in every thing connected with the improvement of the working classes. For many years, in early life, he gave great aid to the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," supporting his friend Lord Brougham, the President, and writing or editing a large number of publications.

In conclusion I can do little more than glance at a few other Bath physicians of the eighteenth century. Some were comparatively independent of practice, preferring our city for its social, intellectual and sanitary advantages. Others shared in various degrees the work of their profession, cultivating also their love of science and literature, and promoting useful institutions.

Of the former class was Dr. Hartley, born in 1705, author of "Observations on Man," worthy of very honourable mention both for his mental and moral qualities. Intended for the church, but unable to sign the articles, he yet continued in her communion and enjoyed the friendship of some of her distinguished sons, notably Bishops Hurd, Butler and Warburton. These and other eminent men he probably met around the hospitable table of Ralph Allen, where his gentle manners, benevolent disposition and rare attainments would always make him a welcome guest. His son, who succeeded him in his house in Belvedere, became member of Parliament for Hull.*

Of Dr. Moysey, born in 1715, I could have wished to write

The experience he afterwards acquired as a judge amongst the mining population of South Wales, combined with his sympathy for suffering and his abhorrence of injustice, led him to labour successfully for the extinction of the truck system and other kindred evils. To many educational societies he was a most generous and useful friend, presiding at their meetings and presenting books to their libraries. After he came back to Bath he contributed very liberally to the shelves of the Bath Institution. His death occurred in August, 1882.

* Dr. Hartley derived repute as a Bath physician from a work on the "Stone," of which he himself was a victim. He was best known by his "Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty and his Expectations." Of this valuable book there were several editions, one by his son, with notes from the German by Dr. Pistorius, another by Dr. Priestley, whom Dr. Johnson quotes as saying, that he "had learned more from Hartley's book than from any he had ever read except the Bible."—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*.

His son, David Hartley, M.P., who died at Bath in 1813, was one of the plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with Dr. Franklin, the American Ambassador at Paris. Some of his letters will be found in Franklin's correspondence. He was the author of various works, scientific and political, the latter chiefly against the American war.—*Alboni's Dictionary of English Literature*.

more fully, because both from family circumstances and professional ability he is an interesting addition to my list. He appears to have been descended from an old Devonshire family and educated at St. John's College, Oxford, possessing property at Hinton Charterhouse but residing in Bath till his death in 1789. One of his sons was a Welsh Judge, who married a daughter of Sir Richard Warwick Bampfylde, of Poltimore and represented Bath in Parliament ten years, defeating at the election of 1784 the younger Pitt by a majority of three.* A grandson lived here within the memory of some of us, the Venerable Archdeacon Moysey, many years Rector of Walcot, who distinguished himself as a Bampton lecturer, and the author of other theological works. A great grandson, Mr. Henry Gorges Moysey, of Bathealton Court, is well known as a useful magistrate of the County of Somerset.

Mr. Monkland in his pleasant essay on the "Literature and Literati of Bath" mentions Dr. Smollett as "having had serious thoughts of settling here as a physician." I have been unable to find confirmation of this in the copious memoir prefixed to the best edition of his works, though he certainly lived here some time, and published a treatise on the waters. The author of the memoir was Dr. John Moore of Glasgow, who gives a letter written to him in 1767, requesting an answer to his residence in Gay Street. It is said that the great potentate, Nash, warmly opposed his settlement at Bath. No reason is assigned, but people believed that the sting of the satirist had been keenly felt. Was it in revenge for the opposition or one of the causes that Smollett lashed in "Roderick Random" the rudeness of the Master of the Ceremonies at the Rooms to a young lady somewhat deformed? The story is that to excite a laugh against her he asked her if she could tell him the name of Tobit's

* The Corporation of Bath being then the elective body, the numbers at the poll were Pratt, 27; Moysey, 17; Pitt, 14. A letter from George III. in the appendix to Lord Stanhope's Life of Pitt shows that the King was vexed at this result.

dog. "Yes," she answered, "his name was Nash, and an impudent dog he was." It was certainly in Bath that Dr. Smollett wrote "*Humphrey Clinker*;" the date of its publication as well as its vivid pictures of local life bearing witness to the fact. In "*Peregrine Pickle*" and other works from his pen we find similar pictures, valuable, no doubt, as those of the larger world of London are, for their truth, but often extremely repulsive by their coarseness. His biographer while doing full justice to his great merits as poet, novelist and historian, admits that "in his humorous and satirical descriptions he sometimes leaves delicacy far behind."* Stronger language might have been used.

Very different were two other literary physicians who lived here at the end of the eighteenth century—Dr. Cogan and Dr. Sherwen. Dr. Cogan did not practise in Bath, though he retained his deep interest in medical science and founded here in 1805 a Humane Society like one which owed its existence to him in London. There he had acquired celebrity and considerable fortune in the obstetrical branch of his profession, concerning which some amusing anecdotes are related in a memoir by Dr. Hunter.† We are told how his night practice was so large that the footpads knew him but generally spared him, though on one occasion he was taken, blindfolded, carried to a ladies' room in a handsome house, paid a fifty pound note, and in due time conducted away, still ignorant as to his employer. Dr. Cogan appears to have disregarded the common custom of dressing professionally, so that a lady once said to him, "Pray, sir, can you be a doctor, you dress like a gentleman?" and he answered, "Really, madam, if it will increase your confidence or contribute to your ease, I will send for my cane and my very best wig." We like to think of this clever, prosperous man, tearing himself away from London work for repose by no means undignified in Bath, writing on the

* Moore's Memoir of Smollett. Ed., 1872.

† Old Age in Bath, by Dr. H. J. Hunter.

passions, on agriculture, on original sin, and other theological subjects, valuing the ministry and friendship of Mr. Jay, the Independent minister, notwithstanding his own heterodox opinions and his attachment to Mr. Hunter, always, even to extreme old age, exemplifying his own cheerful philosophy—

“from strength to strength,
Through joy and gladsome cheer,”

“as if determined that the sight of home should not prevent his enjoying the last mile as much as the first.”*

For want of time I must not say more of Dr. Sherwen than that of him also Dr. Hunter has given a memoir showing that, for twenty years possessed of much learning and convinced that industry was essential to health, he here laboured at literary works. To physicians of a later period “the Bath Institution” was largely indebted for its origin. For some time they had Symposia at their houses, remarkable for intellectual characteristics—rare in provincial towns. We are reminded by them of what Edinburgh was in the time of Scott and Jeffery, and Norwich in that of the Enfields, Taylors, and Martineaus. Here was Dr. Haygarth, in whose house for several years some of the best men of the city assembled weekly for mutual intercourse on scientific and philosophical subjects, the *noctes cœnaque Deorum* in the Queen of the West. Here was Dr. Percival, “the worthy son of a worthy sire,” whose father was the life of every good movement in Manchester, and who himself proved how compatible literary tastes were with solid professional distinction. Here were, of earlier fame, Dr. Johnson, who published the *Herbal* of

* The Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., father of the author of “*Old Age in Bath*,” himself distinguished as one of the founders of the Bath Institution and the author of “*The History of Hallamshire*,” and other learned works. He was for twenty-four years the pastor of the Unitarian congregation in Bath; removing to London in 1833 to fill the office of Assistant Commissioner of Public Records. In the notes to his “*Lecture on the Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England*,” he writes of Dr. Cogan as one of the friends who concurred in the invitation which brought him to Bath.

Gerarde, then one of the best botanical works in England,* and Dr. Sibthorp, whose beautiful monument by Flaxman adorns our Abbey.† Here were Dr. Barlow and Sir William Watson, both amongst the founders of the Institution, one remembered by many of us for his zeal as a phrenologist, the other deserving perpetual praise as the generous friend of Herschell when he was known only as a poor musician in Bath.‡ Here were the second Dr. Falconer and Sir George Gibbes, born in the same year (1771), different in many respects, yet one in their love of culture; Dr. Falconer, known as Bampton Lecturer and publisher of the Oxford Strabo before he graduated M.D., Sir George Gibbes not only one of the foremost in founding the Institution but one of the chief promoters, nearly sixty years ago, of the Society which brings us here to-night. While other persons of distinction social and intellectual, came to Bath occasionally, these gentlemen were *always* here, themselves points of attraction to a large number of visitors, means of intercourse between many who would have been otherwise unknown, mainsprings of a reputation of the place which largely made it what it is.

* Dr. Johnson died in 1644. He also published a translation of Ambrose Parey's medical and surgical works, and several other botanical works, of which "*Iter in Agrum Cantianum*," 1620, and "*Ericetum Hamstedianum*," 1632, were the first local catalogues of plants published in England.—*Alibone's History*.

† After an interval of more than a century Sibthorp came distinguished like Johnson in botanical science. His father, also a physician, was Professor of Botany at Oxford, to which office the son succeeded. He undertook long journeys through France, Italy and Greece, to increase his knowledge of plants and collect rare specimens. His death, at the early age of 38, prevented the publication by himself of his "*Flora Græca*," but he left an estate to the University of Oxford, first to defray the expense, and then to endow a professorship of Rural Economy. His "*Flora Oconiensis*" was published in 1794, about the time when he removed to Bath.—*Britten's Bath Abbey*.

‡ The name of Watson is an honoured one in the Roll of Bath physicians. Many now living think of it with affection and gratitude in connection with later times. I regret that concerning Sir William Watson I glean comparatively little in our local annals. But there is a scientific society at Washington, U.S., whose secretary has sent a recent annual report to the Bath Institution, containing a complete "Bibliography of Herschell's writings," and there I find

Of yet one more I must give a short notice. No Bath physician of his day had a higher standing than the first Dr. Parry, and throughout the kingdom he had great repute both for his writings and practice. Much of his culture he owed to near kindred and early associations; his father, a learned Nonconformist minister at Cirencester, being the intimate friend of Earl Bathurst, who lived near, and was the Mæcenæ of the time.* His college training he received at Warrington, where the society of Dr. Aikin, his daughter Mrs. Barbauld, and the Rigby family aided greatly in the formation of his mind. Having begun his medical studies at Edinburgh, he continued them two years in the house of Dr. Denman, a friend of the Aikins and father of the Lord Chief Justice. Prior to his settlement at Bath in 1779 he married Miss Rigby, whose brother at Norwich and nephew in London both attained medical celebrity, and who shared all the high tastes of her husband. His practice, small at first as usual, steadily increased until it included a list of patients perhaps larger and more remarkable than that of any other local practitioner in the kingdom. It was the period, 1780 to 1816, during which Bath was in the zenith of its fame, and Dr. Parry's memoranda show that many of the British nobility and most distinguished men of the time consulted him. Beginning with receipts for the first year of £39, he notes them for the fifth £239; for the tenth £1600, and afterwards nearly £3000.† There is a story that during some epidemic he was returning home after a long morning's

that many of them were read as papers before the Royal Society by this Dr. Watson. The titles of the papers extend through a hundred closely printed pages. The first is entered as having been "Written by Mr. William Herschell of Bath, and communicated by Dr. Watson, of Bath, F R.S., May 1780."—*Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1880.*

* See Memoir of the Rev. Joshua Parry by his grandson, Dr. C. H. Parry of Bath, edited by Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., containing the correspondence of Earl Bathurst, with the subject of this notice. See also *Life of Lord Bathurst*.—*Biographia Britannica, 2nd Ed.*

† *Lives of British Physicians*.—*Murray, 1830.*

work when a friend remarked that his waistcoat pockets, of the large fashion of the time, seemed very full, probably of guineas. "Yes," he said, "I believe there are ninety-nine, I may make it a round sum before I get home." Yet Dr. Parry was not mercenary; if he enjoyed success he deserved it; through a long life he studied earnestly; he published many elaborate treatises; he cultivated music, painting and literature, and he devoted much time to works of benevolence and public utility. In 1782 he was elected Governor of the Bath Hospital, in 1800 a fellow of the Royal Society, in successive years a member of other learned bodies at home and abroad, and lastly he was honoured with the Bedford Gold Medal of the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society for his varied services during thirty-seven years. The land he purchased on Sion Hill, where he built Summerhill, enabled him to try various minor experiments in agriculture, while a farm he hired in the neighbourhood gave scope for that breeding of sheep and production of wool for which he was celebrated. He died in 1822, after seeing his sons become worthy of their parentage, the elder following the same profession in the same city, the younger distinguished as a naval officer by Arctic discoveries. Dr. Parry's friends caused a handsome monument to be erected to his memory in the choir of the Abbey Church.*

* His family also placed a marble slab with a suitable inscription over the spot inclosing the remains.—*Britten's History of Bath Abbey Church.*

Nearly all the medical men in the following list were interred in the Abbey. A few died after the church ceased to be used as a cemetery, but were honoured by some memorial here. In cases where the memorial is not visible, having been probably removed for alterations, I owe the information to "*Britten's History of the Abbey*," "*Guidott's Memoirs of Physicians*," and the "*Antiquities of Salisbury and Bath*."

Sherwood Reuben, M.D.	...	...	died 1598, aged
Elton Thomas, M.D.	...	...	„ 1618, „
Sherwood John, M.D.	...	...	„ 1620, „
Lapworth Edward, M.D.	...	...	„ 1636, „ 60
Jorden Edward, M.D.	...	...	„ 1632, „ 63
Ostendorph John Vincentius, M.D....	...	...	„ 1648, „

My list is now ended. Time has not allowed me to say much that would have been appropriate. Another list of considerable interest might be formed of later date. I think of the succession of physicians I have known and who have passed away during fifty years. It would be pleasant to recall their varied claims on the grateful and affectionate regard of many of us who still survive. I think also of the eminent surgeons who have adorned their branch of the profession, and whose work in our noble hospitals deserves any tribute that could be rendered. I feel, moreover, how much might have been said on the recent history of medical science, especially on the change that has been going on in the public mind as to the nature of medical functions. For who does not know that in consequence of a greater study of the *causes* of illness, added to improved modes of treating it, the

Dauntsey John, M.D.	...	...	died 1650, aged 80
Venner Tobias, M.D.	...	...	„ 1660, „ 85
Brown Thomas, M.D.	...	...	„ 1665, „
Baue Samuel, M.D.	...	...	„ 1668, „ 80
Maplet John, M.D.	...	...	„ 1670, „ 55
Stubbe Henry, M.D.	...	...	„ 1676, „ 48
Guidott Thomas, M.B.	...	...	„ 1705, „ 67
Peirce Robert, M.D.	...	...	„ 1710, „ 89
Oliver William, M.D., F.R.S.	...	„	1714, „ 50
Leigh Calvely, M.D.	...	...	„ 1727, „ 45
Baue Francis, Apothecary...	...	„	1733, „ 56
Bostock Richard, M.D.	...	...	„ 1747, „
Shadwell Sir J., M.D., F.R.S.	...	„	1747, „ 77
Oliver William, M.D., F.R.S.	...	„	1764, „ 69
Butt John Martin, M.D., F.R.S.	...	„	1769, „ 31
Wall John, M.D. ...	...	„	1776, „ 67
Sibthorp John, M.D., F.R.S.	...	„	1800, „ 38
Harington Henry, M.D.	...	„	1816, „ 89
Hawies Thomas, M.D., LL.D.	...	„	1820, „ 86
Parry Caleb Hillier, M.D., F.R.S....	...	„	1822, „ 66
Farrell W. B., Apothecary	...	„	1829, „ 80
Maycock James Dottin, M.D., F.L.S.	...	„	1835, „ 48
Tudor William, F.R.C.S	...	„	1845, „ 76
Bowen William, M.D.	...	„	1845, „ 54
Norman George, F.R.C.S....	...	„	1861, „ 79
Watson James, M.D.	...	„	1878, „ 86
Barlow Edward, M.D.	...	„	1879, „ 71

Profession is relied upon more and more to aid in preventing it? Who has not seen in the sanitary legislation of the last half century a constant multiplication of safeguards against disease, an increasing recognition of a great public duty devolving on vestries, corporations, boards of guardians, benches of magistrates, as well as private individuals? With regard to the more obscure maladies to which we are subject, I remember how eloquently Sir James Paget, at the Medical International Congress last year, dwelt on the fact that the frame, "so fearfully and wonderfully made," is even yet imperfectly understood. "After all," he said, "the subjects we have been discussing seem only to have been touched upon by those who know most about them, and, great as the advance in medical science has been, those who come after us will probably see much greater." *

On still another topic I could have wished to say a few words: the prospects of Bath as to a revival of its high

* The recent remarks of the Earl of Derby on distributing the prizes at the Liverpool University College may be quoted here: "From a purely political point of view there could be no doubt that the position of the medical profession had greatly advanced within, say, the last hundred years; and the growth of science, of exact science, had removed the old reproach of empiricism. No man in his senses could now repeat the old taunt about putting drugs of which they knew little into the bodies of which they knew less. We live longer than our ancestors, and he conceived that we owed this mainly to the better study of the laws of health—a study closely pursued by physicians, and often pursued by them at the cost of their own lives. But there was more than that. Medical men were brought into the most intimate and confidential relations with every class of the community. We relied not only on the skill of physicians but on their good faith in the most trying moments of life. We trusted them implicitly. No man who was not a fool would dissemble and prevaricate with his medical adviser. Medical men heard more confessions, he believed, more sincere confessions, than priests ever did, and questions as great as could ever come before judicial tribunals. More than that, since sanitary science had come to be studied it might even be that on their courage and on their honesty the lives not merely of a few but of a whole community might depend. Medical practitioners were called upon to run risks, to say and to do unpopular things, possibly for the time to forfeit the favour and gain the illwill of the socially powerful, and to earn only the encomiums of the poor. In one word, they were required to be gentlemen and men of honour, as well as men of science. As far as he could judge, they very seldom disappointed these expectations."

reputation. Some of us think we see signs, by no means doubtful, that it will be again ere long a place largely resorted to for the use of the waters. The steady increase in the number of patients year by year after the erection of the new baths has continued to the present time. Lately it has been more and more marked, and it seems probable that the interest excited by the discovery of the magnificent Roman bath will not only bring visitors from a distance but lead to a general inquiry why what was once so greatly prized has been long so comparatively neglected. One thing is certain : the revival will not find us unprepared. Not only are the baths the most complete and beautiful in Europe and the accommodation for visitors superior in every respect to that of any former period, but we have a staff of medical men who will bear comparison with those of the palmy days—men able and willing to hasten the good time coming. And meanwhile I hope we shall all feel that knowing how well the Bath Physicians of former times served the city as ministers of health, how faithfully they laboured not only to keep the lamp alive but to make it burn more brightly, we ought not to let their memories die.

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